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成人教育からみるドイツの「統合」と  
国民アイデンティティの形成  
German “integration” and its creation of national identity  
From the observation of German adult education

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## Introduction

This is the summary of the Dissertation for DBA in Social Design Studies accepted by Rikkyo University in September, 2014, titled as “German ‘integration’ and its creation of national identity from the observation of German adult education”. In this thesis, the framework of the discussion made around the “integration” and “creation of national identity” in modern Germany are shown. It is to illustrate how important the discussion on those two key terms are for the existence of modern Germany and German people, and what kind of actual tactics the modern German society has adopted and tried hard to keep the existence of “German”, with focus on the adult education which is one of the concrete processes.

For the above reason, there are three parts in this paper. In the first part, discussing the background where the “integration” has been given importance in Germany; in the second part, explaining the association between German adult education and “integration”; and in the third part, speculating whereabouts the identity of “German” would be going, and to conclude, discussing what would be the principles constituting the new identity of “German”.

The thesis itself consists of introduction, three parts with six chapters, conclusion, ten figures, nineteen tables, and one appendix, and is in Japanese (size A4; 40 \* 36 letters) 184 pages without cover, appendix etc.

## Background—The reason to focus on Germany—

The themes directly dealt in this thesis are the “integration” and “creation of national identity” as stated above. It is needless to say that these two themes are not only of

concern in Germany but also socially and politically important matters that have been common in modern European countries having frontiers with each other.

Firstly, the reason why Germany has been focused here is explained. Many may admit that modern Europe, especially EU countries have been through numerous wars and conflicts and kept rather stable government. This is considered to be because these countries have fully benefited from the conditions to govern in the framework of modern nation states which was the concept of formulation of modern states. However, such conditions have been facing the pressure of fundamental changes, and the changes have been taking place overwhelmingly and irreversible.

One of those changes might be the EU integration. As known, EU consists of two kinds of countries; the formerly called as western countries which are relatively old member countries, such as Germany, France, Italy, Benelux countries and United Kingdom; and the former East European countries that joined since the full independence as the nation states after the Cold War. These countries should have expected EU to be the “integration” beyond the nation states, with their own intention, in other words, inner motivation. Nevertheless, it is undeniably true that the EU integration and its expansion have given the incredible pressure on the “integration” process and the “creation of national identity” of each member country even if that was what those countries expected. This is one pressure of change.

The other pressure is increasing number of “immigrant workers” and their settlement in all EU countries. While the tendency of immigrant workers and their families to put down roots and settle down has not only seen in Germany, the complexity of the issue in modern German history, have a decided edge over other EU countries, seen from the viewpoints of “integration” and “creation of national identity”.

This complexity is the very reason why the case in Germany (German integration policy in specific) has been selected as the field of study in this thesis to discuss the issue of the “integration” and “creation of national identity”. Then, where did such complexity in Germany come from? In other words, what made the process of “integration” and “creating national identity” in Germany so complex? It is the outcome of the historical background regarding the German demographics shown below. They are the multi-layered issues attributed to: the foreign workers (Gastarbeiter) accommodated by the German government to supplement the shortage of labor force after the War; and the another kind of population movement and inflow that Germany had to accept since the 90s (the reunification of East and West Germany and increased German people coming back from the ex-Communist countries, the immigrants from EU countries which have the freedom of transmigration within those countries, the foreigners invited as the intellectual human resources, and increased refugees accepted). Thus, such residents who were firstly regarded as the foreign factors have actually made the fundamental (both internal and permanent) change in the demographic composition of German society and these issues were the historical facts that have led to the German “complexity”.

## Abstract—Overview of each section and chapter—

The above stated is the reason to select Germany as the field of study, and as already stated in the beginning; in the first section of this thesis, the discussion is made regarding the “integration” and “creation of national identity” in modern Germany to cope with the historical difficulties mentioned before; in the second section, the actual policies that the federal and local government had been seeking to take are analyzed based on the field studies on the theory and reality of the adult education in several states; and in the third section, how these exploration and endeavor had been mixed with the principles of integration of whole EU countries and what kind of changes (the discovery of “Jus Educatio” as the new principle for creating identity, neither “Jus Sanguinis” nor “Jus Soli” ) had been made in such principles in the process of the “integration” and “creation of national identity” in Germany, are discussed to draw a conclusion.

The followings are the overview of each chapter.

### Section 1: The background reason why the “integration” is important in Germany

In Chapter 1, the reasons why the social integration of immigrants have been the important matter in Germany, are explained with interpreting of Beck’s “Globalization” and following the transition of concept “integration” in terms of the sociology of immigration developed in Germany. Then in Chapter 2, the way in which the transition of concept “integration” stated in Chapter 1 had been reflected in the actual policy. And from two viewpoints, the reasons why the “integration” seems to be important in Germany are clarified with the social background.

### Section 2: The adult education and “integration” in Germany

In Section 2, the effectiveness of the analysis on adult education to examine the German society is shown based on the historical background, followed by the research results of the immigrants’ integration course in Land Nordrhein–Westfalen (hereinafter referred to as NRW) as an example of adult education regarding “integration”. In Chapter 3, regarding the adult education in Germany as the social integration policy, its historical development and the creation of society have been analyzed and the process up to now is followed. In addition, with comparison to the adult education policy of other countries and international authorities like EU, the feature of the adult education for immigrants in Germany has been focused. In Chapter 4, the interviews with the female students of the integration course for immigrants in NRW, which has been introduced since 2005, show that: the students are transmigrants having two home countries; and they have senses of values of both their country of origin and Germany.

### Section 3: The orientation of “German” identity

In Section 3, how the German identity has been changing confronting the contemporary environmental changes, is considered on the basis of the points through the education, made so far. Chapter 5 is titled as “To be a German”, and referring to the relation between the adult education and the national, local, and family “integration” and to the German identity required for the immigrants. Chapter 6 is titled as “Being a German”, and considering the ideal “German” identity including the “Germans” who are not transmigrating or immigrants. Then, the education plays a role in the creation of such identity, and it is concluded that Germany could be the pioneer of “Jus Educatio”.

### Conclusion—“Jus Educatio” and the creation of national identity in terms of the adult education—

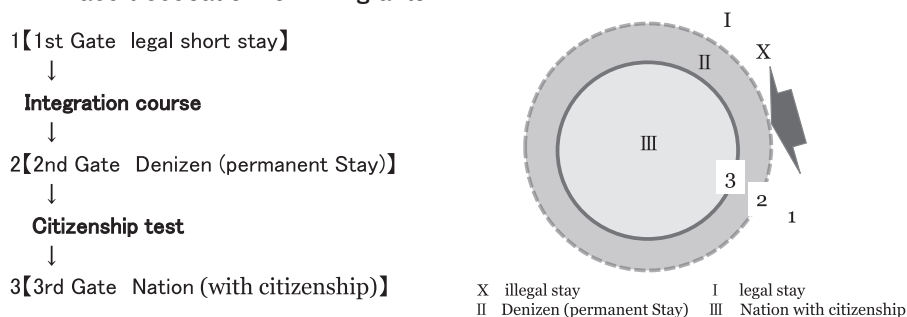
The thesis is concluded with “Jus Educatio” and the creation of German identity mainly through the “integration course” and “German citizenship test—naturalization test—”) as the actual examples of adult education for immigrants.

#### (1) “Jus Educatio” — Educated-place principle—

At first, “Jus Educatio” is described in detail. The revised German Nationality Act enacted in 2000 is often said to have “added” the Jus Soli onto Jus Sanguinis<sup>(1)</sup>. However, having examined the followed revision of Immigration Act in 2005 and the established “integration course” (Integrationskurs), and the “German citizenship test—naturalization test—” (Einbürgerungstest) started in 2008, it was made clear that the education has much related with the decision of residence status of immigrants and the creation of society including immigrants. Therefore, the phenomenon is called as “Jus Educatio”.

The obvious phenomenon may be the relationship between the nationality/residency right and the education as shown in the figure below. It can be seen that the educational

Figure 1 The relation between the three gates theory of Tomas Hamner and German adult education for immigrants



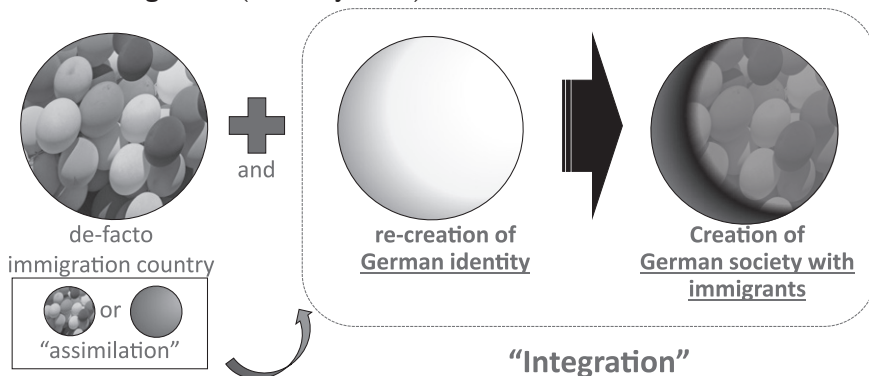
(Kajita 2001: 4 Arrangement by the three gates theory, quoted and added by Sano 2013: 132)

methods of the “integration course” and “German citizenship test” are playing the role as the “checkpoint” to decide the status of immigrants. The details are to be stated later.

Why it was in Germany that “Jus Educatio” emerged? The reason for it can be clear if one follows the increasing quantity of “immigrants’ workers” in all EU countries and their trend of taking root in, which have been mentioned before. In Germany, foreigners make 9—10 % of population, and “people with immigrants’ background” (Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund) makes about 20% <sup>(2)</sup>. This is the outcome of the rapid change in demographic composition made since 1980s. Specifically, they are the increasing number of children of foreigners due to the families invited by “Guest workers” (Gastarbeiter) <sup>(3)</sup>, German returnees from the Eastern Europe after the Cold War ended in 1990, refugees from the war zone, and immigrants from European countries moving in without any restriction because of the EU integration. Then, Germany had to face with the variety of “residents” and have been required various countermeasures to maintain the nation state. One of those countermeasures is the “integration”. That is, the project to promote social engagement of immigrants and foreigners, whose whole policy has been firstly presented in the national integration plan (Der nationale Integrationsplan) by federal government in 2007. In 2012, the action plan with agreements reached with state governments has also been presented.

It can be said that this “integration” may be the process to recreate “German” identity as well as aiming for the society including immigrants, as pictured in the following figure.

Figure 2 Social formation of Germany to deal with immigrant society and the concept of “integration” (made by Sano)



The former Germany had been the society in which it was difficult to naturalize. “To be a German” meant the “assimilation” that is to accept the whole German values and as a result, one may have to put the former values away. It was hard to combine the immigrants’ background with being a German.

Nevertheless, as those people, so called “immigrants” increased, Germany had to transform into the society to admit the actual “variation”. Otherwise, the “parallel

society" (parallelgesellschaft) with two societies, "immigrants' " and German, could have been established, and it was concerned that the social frustration of not being able to cross the border might have led to violence and social destabilization. It also meant that the German identity have had to change to accept the multiple cultures and multi-ethnicity. That is, the identity with only one of the two, "immigrants" or German have had to change into the identity with both, "immigrants" and German. Thus, the society structured with "Germans" with various backgrounds has been planned. Such process with the transformation of identity in the accepting society is the "integration", and this is the concept changed from "assimilation" as the old prerequisite for the "immigrant" to be a German.

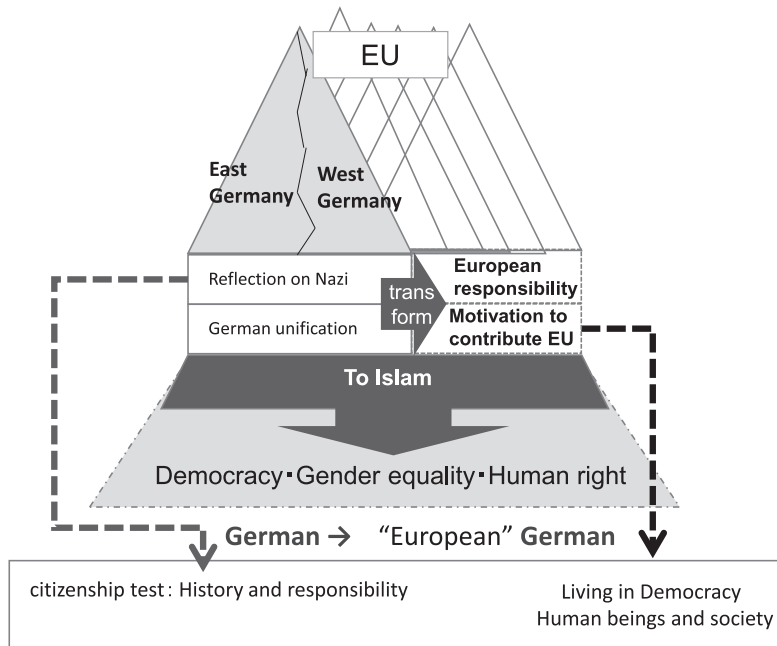
## **(2) The framework and issues of German identity with regards to the "integration course" and "German citizenship test"**

It is the "integration course" established in the new Immigrants Act enacted in 2005 that has played a major role in this "integration". It is compulsory for the new immigrants planning to stay in Germany for long term and not good at German language. So, the values to live in German society are conveyed when learning German. This curriculum has been provided in almost the same framework of the contents of "German citizenship test" conducted since 2008. Since the "integration course" and "German citizenship test" are playing the role as the "checkpoint" to decide the residential qualification of immigrants as mentioned before, the framework itself could be said to represent the values of German society.

The frameworks are: "History and responsibility", "Living in Democracy", and "Human beings and society". They have strong relations to the German historical recognition (Reflection on Nazi, German unification), and the contents of German constitution (Grundgesetz)<sup>(4)</sup>. It may be no exaggeration to say that these three factors: German language, historical recognition, and German constitution required for immigrants to live in German society. In addition, it has high affinity with the "European" identity. The relationships are illustrated on the following page.

Seen from the framework of the "integration course" and "German citizenship test", the ideal German people may be defined as those who have two key historical recognitions: responsibilities of Nazi and the separation to unification of East and West, and have respect to the German constitution. There, with the change of the historical recognition where the Holocaust and Anti-Semitism as the background in Europe under that control of Nazi Germany were not only the issues of Nazism but also those of whole Europe (Kawakita 2005: 159), and by emphasizing the concepts of the German constitution, Democracy, gender equality, and human rights etc., which are common in other European countries, it might be easier to be shared with European identity. On the other hand, the stronger one insists the gender equality, the more differentiation could be shown from the Islam where the suppression on women has been reported.

Figure 3 The contents of “German citizenship test” and “German” identity, and their transformation (made by Sano)



Obviously, it is important to create the identity including those Muslims, Turkish etc. living in Germany. It should be the issue for Germany to overcome this conflict.

### The features of this thesis

Here the features of this thesis are described in relation to the structure of it mentioned above. Firstly, in this thesis, it is indicated that the process of the “integration” goes side by side with the process of “creating national identity”. In other words, the various discussions have been sorted while they were developed in between the direction for the “integration” beyond nation states (EU: endeavor to cope with the extension) and the endeavor for “integration” to cope with kinds of population inflow and changing demographic movement (endeavor of how to “integrate” “outer factors” into inner society).

The second feature is the focus on the theory and practice of adult education for immigrants in Germany to understand the actual development of the process of “integration” and “creation of national identity”, which is the reality of the conduct of policies. Why the adult education has been focused? The answer is that the analysis on the contents and learning targets of adult education for immigrants could show concretely the ideal German figure that Germany conceives. In other words, it can be said that the direction of creating identity in one society may be shown the most

clearly in Adult education. Especially in Germany, the adult education has been playing a large role in the “integration” in history, and it has been emphasized every time when the nation was under restructuring and defined its direction. In particular, the integration course for immigrants that has been picked up in this thesis (established with the revision of the Immigration Act in 2005) may be the most representing the theory and direction of the “creation of national identity” that Germany is seeking for. Specifically, in the integration course, it is important to recognize the German history, to abide by the German constitution, and to master the German language. These three matters correspond to the “German citizenship test” which is compulsory for those applying for German nationality. It should be noted here, that firstly, the modern German “integration” aims for the new “German” identity which is the citizen with these three conditions regardless of the national origins, and that secondly, all of these three conditions to be the core of identity creation can be obtained through the education.

In Section 3 (The orientation of “German” identity), the multilayered concept of identity in Germany is discussed. While the importance of education as a new theory to promote “creating national identity” is noted, German people are also required to have the identity as Europeans, one of EU members. Such endeavor is required for not only German people. For example, the memory of Nazis Germany have not only burdened by German people, because that has also been recognized as the past memory of whole EU countries, that is, the change in historical recognition that Auschwitz was the sin of whole Europe. Of course, they share not just the past memories but they accept and share the common theories in whole EU countries like democracy and gender equality principles. Thus, both in Germany and in EU, it is clearly seen that the identity has been created by education. The author named it as “Jus Educatio” and presented it as the new theoretical definition of citizen instead of Jus Sanguinis or Jus Soli, and concluded the thesis.

By the way, the feature of the study method in this thesis is that: based on the interview of female immigrants taking the integration course in NRW state during the stay in Germany, the study was made on local materials in The German Institute for Adult Education (Das Deutsche Institut für Erwachsenenbildung) in Bonn and others, and on the publication and statistics by the government and state governments collected on Internet. In Germany, as it was clear that their intention was to integrate the whole immigrants’ family by educating women as the center of the family, the interviews were mainly conducted on female students. The questionnaire has been used supplementary and referred to the interviews with the person in charge of the integration course and teachers.

### **Further discussion (The future development)—Regarding globalization and the comparison with other countries—**

It can be said that the Globalization has been closely related to the importance made



on “Jus Educatio” and the recreation of national identity as a “German”. Roughly, it was because they had to review the concept of “citizens” which had been together with the national territory, in the modern society where people are free to cross the border.

Therefore, “Jus Educatio” may appear in other countries. And if that of Germany is compared with others, that may be the new theory of social design in 21th century.

#### ■Note & Main Reference

- (1) Then, in 1999, a centre-left government added the two notions together  
<http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21572822-how-not-treat-people-more-one-passport-jus-sanguinis-revisited> (2014/9/5)
- (2) From the chart of the federal center of politic education (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung)  
<http://www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/zahlen-und-fakten/soziale-situation-in-deutschland/61646/migrationshintergrund-i> (2014/9/5)
- (3) Due to the Oil shock, Germany stopped the acceptance of guest worker (Anwerbestopp) and promoted the policy to return them home. However, foreign workers, who have little chance to get job back in their home countries, preferred to stay and call their family to Germany instead. Thus, immigrant workers and their families settled down and the number of foreign women and children has increased.
- (4) German “Grundgesetz” was enacted as a temporary law in West Germany before the German unification. It included the elements of the Reflection on Nazi. Thus, German “Grundgesetz” was based on two historical perceptions both significant for Germany, which are Nazi and German Integration.

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